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P R 031109 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8660

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 370

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 VIENNA 3603

USNATO TAKE AS PRIORITY

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING MARCH 2, 1973

1. SUMMARY. MAIN PROBLEM TO EMERGE WAS UK OPPOSITION TO APPROACH PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED IN GROUP TO OBTAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO ALLIED STATEMENT ON CARRY- OVER OF PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES, INVOLVING INCLUSION OF STATEMENT BY WARSAW PACT REPS RESERVING THEIR FUTURE RIGHT TO RAISE QUESTION OF INVITING OBSERVERS. MAJORITY OF AD HOC
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GROUP REPS INDICATED PROBABLY WILLINGNESS TO GO ALONG WITH APPROACH. READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, UK REP SAID THAT LONDON BASICALLY OPPOSED THE IDEA. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, UK EMERGED ISOLATED, WITH ONLY TURKISH REP INDICATING PARTIAL SUPPORT FOR UK POSITION. UK REP AGREED TO REPORT MAJORITY VIEW AND COMMENTS TO LONDON AND TO SEEK NEW INSTRUCTIONS, BUT WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THEY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING SOON. GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED QUESTION OF PRESENTING ALLIED VIEW ON AGENDA TO THE EAST IN KEEPING WITH COUNCIL GUIDANCE OF APRIL 27. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT INITIAL PRESENTATION BY ALLIES WOULD BE KEPT GENERAL, SO AS TO PROTECT ALLIED POSITIONS AND ALLOW ASSESSMENT ON HOW TO PROCEED FURTHER ON THIS SUBJECT. INTRODUCTORY CANADIAN PRESENTATION ON AGENDA WILL BE REVISED ALONG THESE LINES BY CANADIAN REP. END SUMMARY.

2. CHAIRMAN (SEKERIS OF GREECE) ASKED FOR ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TO INDICATE THEIR REACTIONS TO CONCEPT DISCUSSED BY GROUP IN PRECEDING SESSION ON REACHING AGREEMENT ON CARRY-OVER, I. E. AN ALLIED STATEMENT EXPRESSING THE CONCEPT OF CARRY-OVER ON PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE IN THE FIRST PLENARY, AND AN EASTERN STATEMENT ACCEPTING THE CONCEPT OF CARRY-OVER BUT RESERVING THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF FUTURE PARTICIPATION AS OBSERVED BY NEUTRALS, AND AN ORAL AGREEMENT TO BE MADE TO THE SOVIETS BY THE ALLIED EMISSARIES THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT OPPOSE THE EAST IF IT RAISED THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING WORKING GROUPS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS WAS EXCLUDED BY A PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT. BELGIAN, CANADIAN, NETHERLANDS, NORWEGIAN AND THE US REP SAID THEY COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED ON TENTATIVELY MAY 1. DANISH, FRG, PORTUGAL, AND ITALIAN REPS LACKED INSTRUCTIONS BUT INDICATED THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKELY GO ALONG. TURKISH REP LACKED INSTRUCTIONS AND WAS NONCOMMITAL.

3. UK ACTING REP (JOHNSON) SUMMARIZED HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON ALONG FOLLOWING LINES. IN THE LAST COUNCIL DECISION, LONDON ONLY RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF SEEKING A CARRY-OVER PROVISION FOR THE PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION ARRANGEMENTS EMBODIED IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL OF APRIL 13. EARLIER, LONDON HAD FAVORED A CARRY-OVER FORMULA BUT THIS WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF A WESTERN PROPOSAL RATHER THAN WHAT LONDON VIEWED AS AN UNFAVORABLE OUTCOME EMBODIED IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

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LONDON'S VIEW WAS THAT THE APRIL 27 COUNCIL DECISION IMPLIED THAT ANY CARRY-OVER ARRANGEMENT MUST MAKE CLEAR THE ALLIED RIGHT TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION DURING OR BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHER, IF A CARRY-OVER PROVISION IS TO BE AGREED, LONDON'S VIEW WAS THAT THE ENLARGEMENT FORMULA IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD GIVE AMPLE COVERAGE FOR THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING OTHER STATES. A SEPARATE STATEMENT TO

THIS EFFECT WOULD REPRESENT A FURTHER AND UNACCEPTABLE ALLIED CONCESSION. IN LONDON' S VIEW, THE QUESTION OF CARRY- OVER SHOULD BE DISCUSSED LATER ON DURING THE CRRENT TALKS IN VIENNA AND NEED NOT BE DECIDED NOW-- IN THIS RESPECT, THE UK REP NOTED, LONDON' S THINKING WAS SIMILAR TO A SUGGESTION ALONG THESE LINES RECENTLY MADE BE KHLESTOV. AS FOR THE QUESTION OF GIVING THE SOVIETS AN ORAL ASSURANCE THAT IF THEY RAISED THE QUESTION OF WORKING GROUPS THE ALLIES WOULD NOT RULE THIS OUT OF ORDER PURELY ON A PROCEDURAL BASIS, LONDON' S VIEW WAS THAT ANY SUCH ASSURANCE, IF GIVEN, SHOULD ALSO BE MADE AT A LATER STAGE DURING THE PRESENT CONSULTATION.

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USMISSION GENEVA
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

4. JOHNSON SAID IN THE FACE OF AN ALLIED CONSENSUS FAVORING AN AGREEMENT ON CARRY- OVER AT THIS TIME, LONDON COULD GO ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY UNDER TWO CONDITIONS. THE FIRST WAS THAT ANY ALLIED STATEMENT ON THE CARRY- OVER OF PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD INCLUDE A SENTENCE INDICATING THAT THE CONSENSUS RULE APPLIED FOR ANY CHANGES. THIS MIGHT BE

ALONG THE LINES OF PHRASING LIKE, " PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS WOULD ALSO BE APPLIED IN THE FORTHCOMING ARRANGEMENTS UNLESS MODIFIED BY CONSENSUS." THE SECOND CONDITION WAS THAT, IN THEIR STATEMENT REPLYING TO THE ALLIED STATEMENT ON CARRY- OVER ARRANGEMENTS, THE EAST WOULD NOT INCLUDE ANY MENTION RESERVING THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF OBSERVERS.

5. THE US REP NOTED THAT A CARRY- OVER AGREEMENT WOULD INCLUDE
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THE ENTIRE PACKAGE ASSUMED SO FAR, INCLUDING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AS WELL AS COMPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS ON HUNGARY. THUS, IT WOULD CARRY OVER THE ALLIED RIGHT TO RAISE THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION IN NEGOTIATIONS. SO FAR, HE CONTINUED, HE AND THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD GONE THROUGH THREE DIFFICULT SESSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE CONCEPT OF CARRY- OVER AND HAD PROGRESSIVELY REDUCED THE PRICE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ASKING IN EXCHANGE. IN ITS PRODUCED EFFECTS, THIS PRICE WAS PROBABLY MINIMAL. THE OBSERVER PROBLEM DID NOT APPEAR TO BE A SERIOUS ONE. IF THE CARRY- OVER ISSUE WAS LEFT OPEN FOR LATER RESOLUTION, THE SOVIETS MIGHT WELL DEMAND A HIGHER PRICE. THE QUESTION WHICH HAD APPEARED TO TROUBLE SOME MEMBERS OF THE AHG-- THE POSSIBLE SOVIET PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE IN APPEARING TO BE THE CHAMPION OF NEUTRAL ATTENDANCE AT MBFR TALKS-- DID NOT SEEM TO HIM TO BE A REALLY SERIOUS PROBLEM. YUGOSLAVIA WAS THE ONLY NEUTRAL OR NONALIGNED THAT APPEARED TO HAVE INTEREST IN THE MBFR TALKS. SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, AND AUSTRIA WERE MORE RELAXED AND COULD CONTROL THEIR ENTHUSIASM. ALLIED RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA WERE GOOD, AND THEIR NEGATIVE POSITION ON ENLARGEMENT, INCLUDING OBSERVERS, SHOULD CAUSE NO GREAT PROBLEM FOR THESE RELATIONS. THE SOVIET STANCE IN FAVOR OF NEUTRAL OBSERVERS IN MBFR WAS IN EFFECT A FACE- SAVING LIMITED REFERENCE TO THEIR ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS TO OPEN THE TALKS TO ALL EUROPEAN STATES, AND WAS LIMITED SUBSTANTIVE SIGNIFICANCE AT THE PRESENT TIME; AND THE APPROACH ENVISAGED IN THE PRECEDING AHG SESSION IN FACT REPRESENTED A SMALL PRICE. SOME IN THE GROUP MIGHT IN FACT WELCOME THE IDEA OF SOVIETS ASKING A HIGHER PRICE, SINCE THIS MIGHT PERMIT THE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION TO BE CARRIED OVER AS AN OPEN ISSUE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE DID NOT THINK THIS CONCEPT A GOOD ONE, SINCE IT WOULD MEAN THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN WITH THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE. THIS WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN A LONG PERIOD OF DISCUSSION DURING WHICH OTHER ACTIVITY WOULD BE SUSPENDED, AND THE RESULTS MIGHT BE PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS WORSE THAN THE ONES WHICH HAVE BEEN PRESENTLY NEGOTIATED WITH THE EAST. IN ADDITION, SUCH A SITUATION WOULD PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO RAISE ISSUE SUCH AS ITALIAN PARTICIPATION, OR PARTICIPATION BY OTHER FLANK STATES, AS LEVERS AGAINST THE ALLIES. IN SUCH A SITUATION, THOSE ALLIES WHO ATTACH PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION MIGHT IN FACT SEEK TO DEFER RESOLVING THE ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION

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UNTIL EVEN LATER ON IN NEGOTIATIONS, I. E. AS A PART OF THE
SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENTS TO BE REACHED, LEAVING THE WHOLE ISSUE
OPEN, WITH ALL ATTENDANT NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF LOSS OF
FOCUS ON CENTRAL EUROPE. IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT IT WAS NECESSARY
TO SEEK AGREEMENT NOW IN A CARRY- OVER PROVISION AT THE PRESENT
PRICE, WHICH ON BALANCE WAS PROBABLY THE MINIMAL ONE.

6. THE UK REP RESPONDED THAT THE UK DID NOT ENVISAGE
RESTRICTING AGREEMENT TO PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION TO THE
PRESENT CONSULTATIONS, LEAVING THE WHOLE QUESTION OPEN AS FAR
AS THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONCERNED. IT NOW FAVORED CARRY- OVER.
BUT THIS COULD BE DECIDED LATER ON DURING THE CURRENT TALKS
AND COULD THEN BE TREATED AS A PART OF BROADER PACKAGE, IN
KEEPING WITH THE UK DESIRE TO AVOID PARTIAL AGREEMENTS
WITH THE EAST WHICH TENDED TO BE UNFAVORABLE WITH THE ALLIES.
IN THIS CONTEXT, THE ALLIES MIGHT FIND MORE LEVERAGE TO AVOID
PAYING A HIGHER PRICE FOR CARRY- OVER ARRANGEMENTS.

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P R 031109 Z MAY 73
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USMISSION GENEVA
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GENEVA FOR DISTO

7. NETHERLANDS REP (UARLES) NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT MOVE ON TO OTHER SUBJECTS, SUCH AS AGENDA, UNTIL THE PROCEDURAL QUESTION HAD BEEN SETTLED. WITHOUT A CARRY- OVER ARRANGEMENT, THE SOVIETS WOULD BE ABLE TO USE THE POSSIBILITY OF REOPENING PARTICIPATION OR PROCEDURAL ISSUES AS LEVERAGE AGAINST THE ALLIES ON OTHER SUBJECTS. HE AGREED WITH THE URS REP THAT THE TIME TO SEEK AN ARRANGEMENT WAS NOW AND THAT THE LIMITED PRICE BEING ASKED BY THE SOVIETS WAS NOT LIKELY TO BE LOWERED IN THE FUTURE.

8. THE BELGIAN REP (WILLOT) ASKED IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT ON CARRY- OVER IN THE FORM OF AN ORAL GENTLEMAN' S AGREEMENT SIMILAR TO THE ONE THE SOVIETS WERE SEEKING ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING GROUPS. THE US REP
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SAID THAT IF THE ISSUE WERE NOT SETTLED FORMALLY EARLY, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED DURING THE DRAFTING OF A COMMUNIQUE, AT WHICH TIME THW SOVIET PRICE MIGHT GO UP, THE BELGIAN REP AGREED, INDICATING HE WAS MERELY EXPLORING A TRAIN OF THOUGHT. THE CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR MEMBERS OF THE GROUP TO ESTIMATE THEIR LIKELY NATIONAL VIEWS ON THE QUESTION SO THAT THE UK REPS WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF ALL OTHER VIEWS IN HIS REPORT TO LONDON. THE DANISH REP (POULSON) SAID H BELIEVED COPENHAGEN WOULD ACCEPT THE APPROACH ELABORATED IN THE PREVIOUS AD HOC GROUP MEETING, AND PRESENTLY OPPOSED BY THE UK. THE FRG REP AGREED WITH THE US AND NETHERLANDS REPS THAT THE SOVIET ASKING PRICE WAS LIKELY TO RISE WITH TIME. HE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD CHANGE THEIR INSISTENCE ON RESERVING THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF OBSERVERS. THE US REP THOUGHT THAT THIS WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION AND COULD BE ELIMINATED ONLY BY THE ALLIES DROPPING THEIR INSISTENCE ON A CARRY- OUT PROVISION. THE FRG REP (RUTH) THEN SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE WAS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT GIVING THE SOVIETS A PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE ON THE QUESTION OF NEUTRALS, HE BELIEVED BONN WOULD ACCEPT THE MAJORITY VIEW. THE NETHERLANDS REP SUPPORTED THE APPROACH TENTATIVELY AGREED IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION. THE BELGIAN REP INDICATED HIS SUPPORT, ALSO SAYING THAT HE THOUGHT THE IDEA OF ANY INDICATION BY THE ALLIES THAT MIGHT ENVISAGE NEUTRAL PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE TALKS WOULD BE TACTICAL MISTAKE, SINCE IT WOULD TEND TO REDUCE THE CHANCES IN HELSINKI FOR OBTAINING BROADER CONSIDERATION IN CSCE OF MILITARY AND SECURITY ISSUES. THE ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) INDICATED THAT HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR ROME, AND THAT CONCEIVABLY ROME MIGHT AGREE WITH LONDON ON INSISTING THAT THE SOVIETS MAKE NO MENTION OF INVITING

OBSERVES. ON A PERSONAL BASIS, HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO DECIDE ON CARRY- OVER, PAYING THE PRESENT PRICE IF NECESSARY. HE STRONGLY OPPOSED THE IDEA THAT THE ALLIES MAKE ANY OVERTURE TO THE NEUTRALS TO MATCH THE ANTICIPATED SOVIET REMARK. HE FURTHER SAID THE UK REP SHOULD INFORM LONDON THAT THE ENLARGEMENT FORMULA WAS NOT RELEVANT TO NEUTRALS AS OBSERVERS SINCE IT ONLY APPLIED TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE UK REP REMARKED THAT, IN LONDON' S VIEW, SINCE THE ALLIES HAD ALREADY AGREED TO ACCEPTING PARTICIPATION BY ROMANIA AND BULGARIA, IF THEY PERMITTED A SOVIET STATEMENT ABOUT INVITING NEUTRALS TO GO UNCONTESTED, THEY WOULD IN EFFECT BE COUNTENANCING

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A COMPLETE REVERSAL OF NATO PUBLIC POLICY SO FAR. IN THIS SENSE, THE PRICE THAT THE ALLIES WERE BEING ASKED WAS HIGHER THAN OTHER REPS SEEM TO THINK. THE GREEK REP SAID HE WOULD SUPPORT SEEKING A CARRY- OVER ALONG LINES EARLIER DISCUSSED AND CONSIDERED THAT THE PRESENT PRICE WAS A SMALL ONE. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SAID THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO REACH AGREEMENT NOW, AND THAT THE PRICE WAS TOLORABLE. THE FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ADD A PHRASE TO THE ALLIED STATEMENT THAT ANY PARTICIPANT HAD THE RIGHT TO RAISE QUESTIONS THAT WERE NOT SPECIFICALLY SETTLED IN THE PARTICIPATION PAPER. THE TURKISH REP (TULUMAN) SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE, AND FURTHER SAID THAT ANKARA MIGHT AGREE WITH LONDON IN OPPOSING A SOVIET STATEMENT MENTIONING OBSERVERS.

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USMISSION GENEVA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 7 VIENNA 3603

E. O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING MARCY 2, 1973

USNATO TAKE AS PRIORITY

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

9. THE FRG REP RAISED THE QUESTION OF DEFUSING THE PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE THAT MIGHT ACCRUE TO THE SOVIETS FROM THEIR ROLE AS CHAMPION OF THE NEUTRAL CAUSE. TO THIS END, THE ALLIED STATEMENT COULD CONTAIN A NEW SENTENCE INDICATING THAT IT WAS " UNDERSTOOD THAT EVERY PARTICIPANT COULD RAISE QUESTIONS NOT PROCEDURALLY COVERED IN THE AGREEMENT." THE U. S. REP COMMENTED
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THAT, COMING JUST BEFORE A SOVIET STATEMENT RAISING THE QUESTION OF NEUTRALS, THES WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF COUNTENANCING THE SOVIET VIEW AND IMPLY AGREEMENT TO THE IDEA OF RAISING PARTICIPATION BY NEUTRALS. HE NOTED AGAIN THAT THE PROPAGANDA BENEFITS FOR THE SOVIETS OF RAISING THE NEUTRAL ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED. THE TURKISH REP COMMENTED THAT, IN FACT, DEFUSING THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE HAD ALREADY BEEN EFFECTED IN LATE JANUARY WHEN THE SOVIETS HAD INITIALLY SOUGHT TO INVITE NEUTRALS TO THE TALKS, AND WHEN THIS EFFORT HAD BEEN GENERALLY PERCEIVED AS A PROPAGANDA STUNT. THE BELGIAN REP SAID THAT HE HAD STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF AN ALLIED MENTION OF THE CONSENSUS PROCESS, AND THAT PERHAPS THE FRG PHRASING COULD BE MODIFIED ALONG THE LINES OF " EVERY PARTICIPANT HAS THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE MODIFICATION OF ARRANGEMENTS AS PRESENTLY AGREED, SUBJECT, OF COURSE, TO CONSENSUS."

10. THE CHAIRMAN SAID THAT THE DISCUSSION HAD PROCEEDED ABOUT AS FAR AS EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTED, AND THAT A CLEAR MAJORITY WAS STILL IN FAVOR OF THE APPROACH DEVELOPED IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION, WITH THE UK ISOLATED IN A MINORITY OF ONE.

THE UK REP SAID THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT BELGIUM, CANADA, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY AND THE US COULD AGREE TO PROCEED ALONG PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED LINES AND THAT THE FRG, GREECE, ITALY AND TURKEY BELIEVED THAT THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT. THIS ASSESSMENT WAS UNCONTESTED. DISCUSSION OF THE CARRY- OVER QUESTION WAS THEN LEFT FOR RESUMPTION IN A LATER SESSION.

11. THE US REP REPORTED ON A CONVERSATION WITH ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU. THE ROMANIAN REP AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF CHANGING PARAGRAPH THREE OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, WHICH LISTS PARTICIPANTS WITH A SPECIAL STATUS, A CHARACTERIZATION TO WHICH ROMANIA OBJECTED. THE US REP INDICATED THAT THE ALLIES DID NOT WISH TO CHANGE THIS PARAGRAPH. THE ROMANIAN REP ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT ON ITS PARTICIPATION, AGAIN OBJECTING TO THE IMPLICATION THAT HUNGARY SPOKE FOR ROMANIA THROUGH THE PHRASING " HUNGARY AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER SOCIALISTS STATES". THE ROMANIAN HAD EXPRESSED NO VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF HUNGARY' S PARTICIPATION, DID NOT WANT THE IMPLICATION THAT IT WAS PART OF A WARSAW PACT CONSENSUS

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ON THIS SUBJECT, AND SAID THAT HE WOULD RAISE THE SUBJECT AGAIN WITH SOVIET REP KHLESTOV. FURTHER, HE ASKED IF THE ALLIES COULD ASK THE OTHER WARSAW PACT REPS TO CHANGE THE PHRASING " THE OTHER SOCIALISTS STATES" TO SOME OTHER SOCIALIST STATES". HE SAID THAT THIS CASE COULD BE ARGUED ON THE GROUNDS THAT ONLY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE ALLIED SIDE WOULD BE INDICATED AS SPONSORING THE ALLIED STATEMENT ON HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION, AND THAT ONLY THE DIRECT WARSAW PACT PARTIES SHOULD MAKE THE EASTERN COUNTER STATEMENT. THE ROMANIAN REP HAD BEEN INFORMED BY HIS EASTERN COLLEAGUES ABOUT THE IDEA OF POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF CARRY- OVER AND OBSERVERS, AND SAID THAT ROMANIA WAS OPPOSED TO ANY EASTERN STATEMENT ON OBSERVERS THAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE MADE ON BEHALF OF ROMANIA. HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO DISCUSS THIS WITH THE SOVIETS. HE WONDERED WHY IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A JOINT STATEMENT BY ALLIED AND EASTERN REPS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INVITING OTHER STATES AS OBSERVERS. THE US REP EXPLAINED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE ALLIED VIEW. THE ROMANIAN REP ALSO QUESTIONED THE US REP ON HOW THE CHAIRMAN FOR THE FIRST PLENARY WOULD BE CHOSEN, AND WHETHER IF HE WAS CHOSEN BY LOT, IT WOULD REALLY BE BY HAZARD RATHER THAN PREARRANGED. THE US REP ASSURED HIM THAT THE CHOICE WOULD REALLY BE MADE BY LOT. THE ROMANIAN REP SAID HE WOULD NOT RAISE OBJECTIONS IN THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION TO ANY ASPECT OF THE SCENENARIO DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE ALLIED REPS AND THE SOVIETS, BUT HE WOULD RESERVE THE RIGHT TO SOMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY IN HIS GENERAL NATIONAL STATEMENT TO THE PLENARY.

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USMISSION GENEVA
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FROM US REP MBFR

12. THE BELGIUM REP BRIEFED ON AUSTRIAN ARRANGEMENTS IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST PLENARY. GENERALLY, AMPLE FACILITIES FOR INTERMISSIONS AND INFORMAL CAUCUSING WOULD BE AVAILABLE, AND AN AREA OF THE IAEA PREMISES WOULD BE SECURED BY AUSTRIAN POLICE TO PERMIT ACCESS DURING PLENARIES ONLY TO MBFR DELEGATIONS. ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL DESIGNATIONS FOR NAME CARDS FOR THE PLENARIES, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE FRG, AND GDR WOULD BE LISTED BY THEIR FULL NAMES, THAT THE UK WOULD BE LISTED AS THE UK OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT OTHER ALLIES WOULD BE LISTED BY ABBREVIATED NAMES, E. G., "LUXEMBOURG". EASTERN STATES, APART FROM THE GDR, WOULD
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BE LISTED UNDER SHORT DESIGNATIONS IN KEEPING WITH EASTERN PREFERENCES.

13. PRESS CONFERENCES FOLLOWING PLENARIES. TEXT OF A DRAFT PRESS BRIEFING TO BE GIVEN BY THE NETHERLANDS REP WAS DISTRIBUTED, ALONG WITH ANTICIPATED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. THESE WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE NEXT AD HOC GROUP SESSION.

14. AGENDA. DISCUSSION TURNED TO REVIEWING THE AGENDA PRESENTATION DEVELOPED EARLIER IN THE GROUP FOR APPROPRIATENESS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THE US REP NOTED THAT THE AGENDA COULD BE PRESENTED EITHER ON A RELATIVELY INFORMAL BASIS THROUGH MULTIPLE BILATERALS, OR IN PLENARY SESSIONS. THE FORMER HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF LESS FORMALITY, AND THUS LESS OFFICIAL STATUS FOR ALLIED VIEWS ON AGENDA, WHICH MIGHT BE PREFERABLE IF IT DID NOT PROVE FEASIBLE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST ON AGENDA ALONG THE LINES PREFERRED BY THE ALLIES. THE LATTER APPROACH HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF CLEARLY STATING ALLIED VIEWS, THUS INDICATING WHAT THE ALLIES WOULD EXPECT TO RAISE IN NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHER, IT WOULD CONVEY THESE IDEAS IN CLEAR AND IDENTICAL FASHION TO ALL THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. THE FRG REP SAID THAT BONN'S MAIN CONCERN WAS TO BROACH AGENDA IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WOULD SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIES AND PRODUCE THE LEAST AMOUNT OF CONTROVERSIAL DISCUSSION. ONE WAY TO THIS END, AND THE ONE HE TENDED TO PREFER, WAS TO TAILOR DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA TO THE LIKELY OUTCOME THAT THE ALLIES WOULD ENVISAGE IN A COMMUNIQUE, I. E., TO CONCENTRATE ON CERTAIN ESSENTIALS AND THUS PAVE THE WAY FOR COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING. THE US REP SAID THAT, IN KEEPING WITH THE NAC DECISION OF APRIL 26, IT WOULD SEEM REASONABLE TO MAKE A PRELIMINARY PRESENTATION ON ALLIED AGENDA VIEWS IN PLENARIES AND THEN TO MOVE ON TO EXCHANGES OF VIEWS TO DETERMINE HOW THE POSITION OF THE TWO SIDES COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER; AND THEN TO MAKE A DETERMINATION WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT, OR PREFERABLE TO POSTPONE THIS EFFORT TO NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE ENVISAGED A WEEK'S TIME AS APPROXIMATELY THE FRAMEWORK FOR ALLIED AND EASTERN DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA. THE GREEK AND NETHERLANDS REPS, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY THE FRG REP ABOUT HOW TO DETERMINE A REASONABLE PERIOD AFTER WHICH A DECISION WOULD BE MADE TO POSTPONE THE AGENDA UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS, GAVE THEIR VIEW THAT IT WOULD
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BE UP TO THE AD HOC GROUP TO JUDGE THIS QUESTION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PREVAILING SITUATION.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8665

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 375

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

15. THE BELGIAN REP SAID THAT SINCE THE SOVIETS WILL APPARENTLY NOT AGREE ON A DATE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AT THE EARLIEST THE END OF MAY OUT OF A DESIRE TO LINK THIS SUBJECT WITH A DATE FOR CSCE, THERE WOULD BE PLENTY OF TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF AGENDA AND THE SUBJECT NEED NOT BE HURRIED. THE US REP SAID THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO ACCEPT SOVIET REMARKS ABOUT LINKING MBFR AND CSCE DATES AT FACE VALUE AS AN OPERATING PRINCIPLE FOR THE ALLIES' OWN TIMETABLE. THE FRG REP AGREED AND SAID THAT TO DO SO WOULD BE TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF STALLING ON THE ALLIED AS WELL AS EASTERN SIDE.

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16. THE UK REP SAID THAT LONDON' S CHIEF CONCERN WITH DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA WAS FULLY TO PRESERVE THE ALLIED POSITION. TO THIS END, THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT REVEAL TOO MUCH OF THEIR

THINKING ON AGENDA, NOR DWELL ON IT FOR TOO LONG; OTHERWISE, THE SOVIETS WOULD BE FREE TO PICK AND CHOOSE ON THE SUBJECT. THIS ARGUED FOR A MINIMAL PRESENTATION ON AGENDA, AND IN THIS CONTEXT THE PRESENTATIONS EARLIER DISCUSSED SHOULD PROBABLY BE SHORTENED, AND PERHAPS ONLY SOMETHING LIKE THE OVER- ALL PRESENTATION TO BE MADE BY THE CANADIAN REP SHOULD BE ENVISAGED AS THE SUM TOTAL OF ALLIED PRESENTATIONS. THE US REP AGREED ON THE NEED TO PRESERVE THE ALLIED POSITION, AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS COULD BE EFFECTED BY CONVERTING THE ALLIED PRESENTATION INTO A STATEMENT OF VIEWS RATHER THAN A PROPOSAL TO WHICH THE EAST WOULD BE ASKED TO AGREE. THESE ALLIED VIEWS COULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY A SIMILAR STATEMENT OF GENERAL EASTERN VIEWS, AND THE RESULT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT ON HOW NEXT TO PROCEED. THIS APPROACH, HE NOTED, PRESUPPOSED THAT SUCH AN INITIAL EXCHANGE WOULD BE MADE IN PLENARIES. THE CANADIAN REP AGREED WITH THE US REP'S REMARKS, SUGGESTING THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE US AND NETHERLANDS REPS TO PROBE THE SOVIETS IN ADVANCE ALONG THESE LINES.

17. THE US REP SUGGESTED THAT THE CANADIAN REP MIGHT REWRITE HIS DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT WITH A VIEW OF MAKING CLEAR THAT IT REPRESENTED ALLIED VIEWS RATHER THAN AN ALLIED PROPOSAL ON WHICH AGREEMENT WAS SOUGHT. THE CANADIAN REP AGREED. THE GROUP FURTHER AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES NOT TO HAVE ANY FURTHER ALLIED PRESENTATIONS, IF THESE WERE MADE, PRESENTED BY DIFFERENT ALLIED SPOKESMEN, SINCE THIS WOULD TEND TO GIVE A MORE FORMAL ASPECT TO THE PRESENTATIONS THAN IF THESE WERE MADE BY ONE SPOKESMAN,

18. THE US REP NOTED THAT COUNCIL GUIDANCE CALLED FOR DISCUSSION OF NON- CIRCUMVENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF AGENDA, AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT BE MENTIONED IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSING THE ITEM ON SIZE AND METHOD OF REDUCTIONS. THE CANADIAN REP AGREED TO WEAVE THIS THEME INTO HIS OVERALL PRESENTATION.. THE ITALIAN AND TURKISH REPS INDICATED SOME ANXIETY ABOUT DISCUSSING NON- CIRCUMVENTION, BUT AGREED TO PUTTING THIS SUBJECT UNDER THE AGENDA HEADINGS ON REDUCTIONS.
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THE UK REP PROPOSED, AND THE GROUP AGREED, THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO AVOID NUMBERING AGENDA TOPICS SEPARATELY IN THE ALLIED PRESENTATION, INSTEAD OF LISTING THEM WITH TICS, THUS LESSENING THE IMPRESSION OF FORMALITY AND OF RANK ORDER, AND RUNNING TOGETHER THE DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS TO THE EXTENT THAT CONSIDERATIONS OF STYLE AND CLARITY PERMITTED.

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

19. THE FRG REP RAISED THE QUESTION OF DISCUSSING AREA AS AN
AGENDA SUBJECT, QUESTIONING WHETHER IT NEEDED TO BE INCLUDED
IN THE AGENDA AT ALL ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT HAD BEEN IMPLICITLY
PART OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE PARTICIPATION QUESTION OVER
THE PRECEDING THREE MONTHS. IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, IT SHOULD NOT BE
FIRST ON THE LIST OF AGENDA ITEMS. THE GREEK REP SAID HE WOULD
NOT LIKE TO SEE THE ITEM DROPPED, AND THE ITALIAN REP SAID
THAT HE HAD A STRONG PREFERENCE TO SEE IT REMAIN AS THE FIRST ITEM
ON THE AGENDA LIST. THE US REP INDICATED THAT IF THE ALLIED
PRESENTATION ON AREA WERE LEFT AS DEVELOPED AND NOT EXCEEDED
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DURING DISCUSSIONS, HE SAW NO REAL PROBLEMS WITH DISCUSSING THE
GEOGRAPHIC ITEM. THE BELGIAN REP NOTED THAT THE COUNCIL GUID-
ANCE WAS FIRM THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD CONVEY ALL OF THE AGENDA
POINTS ENVISAGED IN THE GUIDELINES AND AGENDA PAPER TO THE

EAST. THE CHAIRMAN INDICATED THAT THE QUESTION OF PLACEMENT OF THE AGENDA ITEM ON AREA WOULD NEED TO BE RESOLVED AT A LATER STAGE.

20. THE FRG REP RETURNED TO HIS EARLIER THEME OF SELECTIVITY ON AGENDA POINTS, SAYING THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIES TO DECIDE WHICH ITEMS WERE DISPENSABLE AND WHICH WOULD REMAIN IN AN OUTCOME SUCH AS A COMMUNIQUE. THE US REP NOTED THAT DESIGNATING CERTAIN ITEMS AS INDISPENSABLE COULD ENCOUNTER EASTERN RESISTANCE AND THUS RUN COUNTER TO THE COUNCIL GUIDANCE ON PRESERVING THE OVERALL ALLIED POSITION. A MORE FLEXIBLE, GENERALFORMULA MIGHT BE NEEDED FOR THIS PURPOSE. HUMES

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